778 it wants to drink and puts it back afterwards. No one may go or dares
825 to go and see it in its cavern unless he has fasted for three days and abstains from his wife. Otherwise he should not be able to see it, or he would be in danger of being bewitched by it, that is to say, killed.

2. Clothing

291 The Caribs go entirely naked without shame, the women as well
301 as the men. I have scolded a captain for this but he only answered:
[302] "That no good for France, good for Carib." They use urucu [rocou; body paint] to redden their bodies which would otherwise be the color of olives. The women sometimes have a kind of legging which extends from the knee to ankle and which they consider to be fashionable. Men and women wear, when they have them, necklaces of glass beads or crystal, or small, well-matched bones.

There is a man whom we called the Pilot who among them is considered to be one of their foremost captains and is an old friend and loyal to the French. When this man came to visit the governor he
[292] wore a hat on his head as a sign that he was beloved and esteemed by the French. The others were as bare-headed as they were naked.
302 They bound their hair, which was not too long, behind their head, and passed through it feathers of the aras [macaw?], flamingo, and other birds. These feathers hung from behind, and they also fastened in the same place some trinkets in their manner. They had plucked their beards. Arlet, a brother of the Pilot, and himself a captain,
[301] had some small pieces of brass hanging from his lip, chin, and nose.

3. Occupations

● 562 Women are unhappy and are treated as slaves, for it is required of them to work in the gardens, tend the family duties, and do everything except go to war, fish, or hunt. If there should be large trees to fell the husband will sometimes take the trouble to do it. They
[595] have many wives, whom they take and leave as they wish. They treat them very badly and sometimes kill them, having as a people no justice and no superior authority. Each one does as he wishes and
674 562 is acquitted of the most horrible crimes if he says that he was "drunk

674 as a fly," which is to say very drunk. It is thus understood that he has
562 been well judged. They very often kill the old people saying that they are no longer well and consequently are unhappy. When their wives are old they kill them, arguing as their reason that they are no longer able to tend to the garden or make cassava or ollicou /kind of beer/. They are jealous, and if a woman has failed them they kill her or make her a servant and slave to others. When they have suspicions about her misconduct they make her drunk—for their ollicou is potent when it is well made—and when she is in this state she can conceal nothing.

461 The men are extremely slothful and pass the time lying or sitting on their hammocks, carousing, gossiping, and allowing themselves to
[303] be combed by their wives. They cannot pass an hour without being combed and don't even take the trouble to fish or hunt, preferring to fast a little and eat only some cassava and crabs, rather than leave the house to catch lizards or tortoises, or some other thing. However,
[439] when they come to trade with the French they catch a tortoise and bring it with them. This is their principal item of trade. They sometimes bring pineapples and bananas as well as bows and arrows which
[572] they give to their comperes; this is the term they use for all their friends.

846 The Caribs have a ridiculous ceremony at the birth of their children. The woman gets up immediately after having given birth and goes back to work if she is able. The husband goes to bed /in a hammock/ which they hang high from the house, and here he complains about his belly and rubs it as if he were suffering greatly. For the span of an entire moon he leaves his hammock only for necessities, supporting himself with a stick. The others visit him as they would a sick man. It is true that to a certain extent they cause this pretended illness to pass into a real one because the man is badly treated. He must fast very rigorously for a few days, and they give him only cassava and very little of that, but they give him enough to drink, especially at the moment the child suckles. After several days he is able to eat crabs, and some time after this he is permitted tortoise meat; finally he eats any kind of food without limitation, as though he were completely healed. But before this they hold an assembly where the so-called sick man is gashed all over his body and loses much blood. Those fathers who have already had five or six children are only gashed
[854] on the arms and legs. They do not know what it is to swaddle children, nor do they treat them delicately as we do: but nevertheless they love them tenderly.

512 Other men go to their houses in order to chop wood, or spend their
462 time at some small task which they consider necessary. Some em-
[415] ploy themselves by making ibichets. These are little sifters, round or square, with such small holes that they use them to sift their flour and ouicou. They make them from the first barbs of a plant which the Caribs of Dominica call ouialloman and which I have described under the name of solaman because I have heard it named by others in this way.

Still other men are seen making lines to fish in the open sea, others make cotton belts, while the laziest men of all cut off their beard with a knife or pluck it out, hair by hair. Some make boutou clubs, bows, arrows, or catolis which are a kind of carrying basket used by the women. The more industrious work on canoes and pirogues and often spend several full years making one.

241 When they go to clear the forest for the habitation of a neighbor,
462 it takes about two or three hours to do, if they feel like working. They knock down the trees in a hundred foot square, the wood lying in confusion on the ground. They then go drinking, and get drunk
[461] for the rest of the day and sometimes the whole night. Concerning all of these tasks, they work an hour a day, and even then so slackly that they seem to be mocking their job.

They consume the rest of the time being painted and combed by their wives, playing the flute, and having daydreams.

883 All this which has just been described is the work of men. However, all the youths continually practice drawing the bow and become so expert that they can shoot flying birds. They sometimes wrestle,
[526] but in a very different way from the French, for they grab each other by the forearm and give each other such shakes that Father Raymond [Breton] states he saw a man who, having been thrown on the ground, remained there more than a quarter of an hour before he became fully conscious.

562 Whatever may be said about the Indies being the paradise for
512 women, this is true only for our French women, as we shall describe in its place. Concerning the Carib wives, they are more exactly
[461] slaves of their husbands, rather than companions, for they are never
462 idle. As soon as they get up they go to bathe, and then prepare their
512 husbands' soup which is made with some boiled bananas. After the husband has been served a full plate, and he is through with it, they

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

868 to be so accurate that they could hit a bough. The girls learned from their mothers how to cook, till the fields, weave cotton, and make hammocks.

881 **Puberty and marriage.**—At the age of puberty both sexes fasted for 3 or 4 weeks and had their skins scarified with agouti teeth. This was the time when the girls assumed the aprons and cotton anklets of women. Thereafter they were not allowed to run free but had to remain close to their mothers.

The youths were taught to value courage and endurance and were periodically rubbed with the fat of slaughtered *Arawak* to make them brave. When they had reached the age of becoming warriors they were tested in these qualities. The youth having been seated on a stool in the center of the carbet, his father crushed a bird over his head, scarified his body, and rubbed the cuts with pepper sauce. Then the boy ate the heart of the bird, to give himself courage, and his father beat him. He had to endure this entire ceremony without flinching. When it was over he lay in a hammock and fasted for 3 days. Then he demonstrated his skill in wielding a club and was accepted into the company of the warriors, being given a new name. His father gave a feast in celebration.

[756] Specialization in shamanism began in childhood, when the candidate abstained from several kinds of flesh and underwent rigorous fasts. At puberty he was apprenticed to one of the older shamans, after going through a scarification ceremony comparable to that given to warriors.

582 The *Carib* youth were supposed to be chaste. Except for prostitutes,
[834] contact between young men and young women was tabooed. So was marriage with mothers, sisters, and step-sisters. Cross-cousin marriage was preferred, the sororate also being practiced, but a man was allowed other wives as well. Fathers presented their daughters to the successful
584 warriors at the feast following each raid, and the warriors could also marry the women they had taken captive during the raid. The men with the most wives were considered the most prominent.

Girls often became engaged during childhood and sometimes were brought up by their fiancé's family. The groom usually had to obtain
[585] the consent of the prospective bride's parents. There was no ceremony except for an occasional feast, the only time the wife ever ate with her
591 husband. Residence was matrilocal, except in the case of a chief. Each wife lived in a separate hut in her own village, often on a different island.
562 The wives were treated as servants; they dressed and fed their husbands, cleaned and thatched the houses, tilled the fields, and carried all burdens.
[586] Their husbands could abandon them without ceremony, in which case the younger children remained with the mother and the older children were
[551] divided according to sex. Teknonymy was practiced, and a man had to avoid speaking to his wife's relatives.

888 **Death and burial.**—The *Carib* sometimes killed the old and the infirm.
000 They feared the dead and never mentioned their names. When a man

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

622 basis of their supposed wisdom and powers of endurance, and had to submit to such tests as fasting, drinking tobacco juice (a powerful emetic), stinging by wasps or ants, and scarification with agouti-tooth lancets.

Today the tribe as a whole elects a chief for his real or self-advertised ability to safeguard its interests and improve its lot. Unless deposed for gross injustice, he holds office for life; but no particular privileges attach to the position. Having no means of enforcing sanctions, his rule is limited to that of a paternal arbiter.[2]

[701] All records insist on the democratic character of Island Carib society. Only [593] those who so desired joined a war party. A father would not dream of telling a sixteen year old son to come fishing, but merely announce his own intention of going. "Orders are given to none but women and slaves," says Labat; and adds [562 567] that as far as he saw, both these classes were treated gently, and that many Caribs had real affection for their wives. The statement that they were also very jealous, and might kill a woman suspected of infidelity without proof or further ado 684 rather loses significance when we learn that, in their cups, Caribs frequently [578] cracked the heads of men whom they considered to have injured them, and that in such cases, only the family of the victim, if they held the deed as unjustifiable, would take up the vendetta. Moreover, should a deceived husband not kill his wife immediately after discovering her guilt, not only must he not hark back to the subject later, but he was supposed to tolerate subsequent lapses provided they be with the same man (see term 20)! This latter, however, if challenged by the aggrieved husband, must bow his head and submit to being slashed with a knife, but was at liberty to return the challenge under the same conditions later. [855] Children were disciplined little, and then, more out of sporadic ill-humor than in their own interest.

593 Although it has faded somewhat in the course of the last three hundred years, the above picture is still recognizable in its outline. The father has final authority in the household, although he usually leaves the management of children

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648 622 623 [666] 2 As a consequence of the so-called "Carib War" of September 1930 (see Douglas Taylor, *The Caribs of Dominica*, Anthropological Papers, no. 3, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 119, pp. 103-159, 1938), the late chief Jolly John was "cashiered" by the local British authorities. A plebiscite by show of hands, held in the presence of the magistrate, resulted in his re-election by the Caribs, who continued to regard him as Chief until his death in 1942. Nevertheless, at the instigation of the local authorities, a council of five was appointed to replace the "office of chief," which was discontinued. Divided amongst themselves, its members have attempted little and accomplished less. The number of disputes settled by them without recourse to the magistrate is but a fraction of those successfully arbitrated formerly by the chief. Thus far, their only united effort has been directed toward urging the local authorities (who give them each a yearly "Christmas box" of $5) to raise their "pay"!

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
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551 comes from ebéne *lancet*, yebéni *my lancet* (a hafted tooth of *Dasyprocta agouti*), and means literally *who released* (i.e. let blood) *from me.*

CONCLUSION

114 It will be apparent from the foregoing that the picture of Island Carib
174 society in early colonial days, left to us by the French missionary fathers of the seventeenth century, contains many gaps and ambiguities which it is now too late to fill in and elucidate.

The story of the Carib conquest of the islands as told to Breton by "the Captains of the Isle of Dominica" is doubtless true enough in outline; but it does not help to fix the date or causes of the invasion. Skulls might remain intact for a long time in a dry cave—even though it was near the sea; and women who "kept something of their language" for four hundred years after Columbus' discovery of the Caribees, may well have done so during as long a period before that event. On the other hand, the realistic description of the leader of the invading forces, and the tradition of former "kings" (probably a pre-Carib institution) point—albeit for purely psychological reasons—to a not far distant era. It may likewise be inferred that the Caribs' acquaintance with the islands, and their hatred of Arawak, island- and mainland-tribes alike, went much farther back than this last, successful invasion.[11]

174 That they did not bring Carib women from the mainland appears, not only in their own story, but in the descriptions of the marriage system obtaining among them toward the middle of the seventeenth century. Had they done so, it is more than likely that some hereditary distinctions and privileges would have resulted; but we are expressly told that the children even of captive women were
[565] in no way discriminated against. A roving and warlike people, the Caribs had no use for hereditarily privileged classes; and while maintaining the general (Arawak?) custom of matrilocal, cross-cousin marriage, insured the strength of their own elected chiefs by making their and their sons' marriages patrilocal. Thus an Island Carib headman, or war-leader was able to take several wives without adding greatly to his own economic burden, and could count on the support of all his adult offspring and their spouses in the event of dearth, dispute, or warfare. Small wonder that men were willing to put up with some self-
174 inflicted torture to prove themselves worthy of such a position!

That the Island Carib were and remained patripotestal cannot be doubted,
562 and is evident both from the ease with which they are said to have disposed of

11 Guiana folklore suggests that Arawak and Carib were originally one people who split over sexual taboos or on account of a portion of the females crossing with foreign stock.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
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a suspected wife, and from the preponderance of terms for male over those for female kin. Male domination is further indicated by the alternative forms of marriage recorded, and reflected in the variety of the men's terms for spouse; while the absence of this feature from the women's tongue suggests the former prevalence of a stricter system of matrimony.

The latter is revealed by a great deal of the kinship terminology itself, in which the men used the same or equivalent terms as the women. The analysis of these terms confirms the historical records of unilateral cross-cousin marriage (to paternal aunts' daughters), of the sororate and levirate, and of the so-called classificatory system; and attests the (at least) one-time existence of matrilineal descent and inheritance (the male line zigzagging through sister's son back to son's son). Since the significance and social implications of these terms must have been clear to Carib speakers, it seems probable that as an ideal the system was kept intact, but that marriage by elopement or capture became just as common so long as raiding expeditions could be kept up. Present-day house inheritance by the youngest child, continued prevalence of matrilocal residence, and surviving kinship terminology also tend to a like conclusion. Of the fifteen kinship terms remembered today and recorded by myself, it is noteworthy that those belonging to the men's speech (ss h, w f = s gf, w m = s gm, s, gs, gf) are concerned with sisters' marriage and posterity, and with the grandparent-grandchild relationship; while those of the women's speech (h, w, d, f, m, o br, y br) designate the conjugal and consanguineal group. The other two, n-ubu *my mate* (12) and n-ígītu *my mother's brother's son*, belong to the common vocabulary.

In this sense, and only in this sense, exogamous, non-totemic, matrilocal clans may be said to have existed among the Island Carib; but I have found no evidence that they bore any names, or even went beyond the joint family.

The variety of terms for sponsors and their "godchildren," for namesake, joking, and formal friends, as well as the description of the elétuak rites and festival, suggest the former existence of purely Carib institutional associations, which are, however, nowhere recorded for the islands. A last vestige of such might perhaps be seen in the present-day seriousness with which godsib-godparent-godchild, and sibling-of-first-communion relationships are taken.

Like other conquerors before and after them, the Island Carib seem to have begun by imposing a maximum of social change on their erstwhile Arawak wives; only to revert, albeit very gradually, to a large part of the culture of the conquered (even in language: all recent Island Carib texts showing a large proportion of Arawak words and forms). The coming of the white men, and the